1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 240b] Wesley Hewes NS25

dreams that his mother-in-law is there too.[179] When people dreamed of someone in this casual manner (i.e., not a "power" dream), they might speak of it to each other, saying, for example, "I saw your brother" (uhe'wia nü u'bun:t, Waksachi).

Significant or "power" dreams were told only to the most intimate friends, usually only to one who was also seeking t:pni. There was no formal prohibition on disclosing them; rather it was a matter of wisdom and good taste not to talk of, and particularly not to brag of, one's supernatural power.[180] Other people were aware, of course, of a seeker's activities and knew that he was by way of being a doctor. A man was usually thirty to forty years old before he felt that he knew enough to cure as a professional shaman. It was often through the intimate acquaintance of two friends who knew of each other's supernatural experiences that a budding shaman secured his first patient.

Thus, a man who had a sick child might be too poor to pay a high fee or might be distrustful of established shamans. The intimate friend of the novice would suggest to the father that he let So-and-So try, that he knew he had much power. Or the father himself might be aware of the young man's efforts and want to try him. Whichever the circumstance, the father would approach the young man with a sum of money (less than would be offered a professional practitioner) and ask him to come try to cure his child. If the novice felt he had enough power to attempt it, he would do so; if not, there was no compulsion for him to agree. He would be likely to refuse unless confident of success, as failure always laid a doctor's motives open to suspicion, especially repeated failures. A young doctor, like an old one, was entitled to keep the fee whether the cure succeeded or not, and was often given additional presents of baskets or blankets, if successful.

However, the novice must begin sometime and, if he accepted the fee, would go and do his best. His talismans would be those indicated by his dreams, and his methods of curing would be sucking, blowing, and rubbing, as with all doctors. If the patient recovered, he was recommended to others and so little by little set up a practice, so to say. He continued his training procedure, for always he must reempower his used talismans, and an accumulation of power was not only desirable but indispensable when he became sufficiently successful to attract attention as a possible rival to older shamans. An initial failure to cure usually led to redoubled efforts to seek power; but

[179] Although S.O. insisted that there was no mother-in-law tabu in his society, it is worthy of remark that he "could not remember" his mother-in-law's name in spite of the fact that his genealogical memory carried over 200 names and his dreams of the woman were cordial.

[180] A story pointing a moral against bragging of one's power appears in Gayton and Newman, 37.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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182 do so profitably; yet this phase of integration is too complex to be entered into here and is really tangential to our focal interest—environment in culture. Hence only a few points will be mentioned.

First, the reiterative mechanism of seasonal environment may set up a conditioned response in the individual reared in a seasonal ceremonial routine. We are accustomed to consider "conditioning" in small neural units, or as specific behavioral components, yet, in so small and simple a society as a Yokuts or Western Mono village the larger rhythms of social life must impress the infant from birth onward with increasing clarity and firmness. Just as the gross culture configurations are being absorbed, so must be the culture-environment configurations, and the environment's own configurations. By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person—as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers—have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions are constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.

Dreams of animals were essential as a source of supernatural powers and came both unsought and sought to these people. No depth psychology is needed to understand the composition of their mental imagery, which had these things, and almost only these things, to draw on, in fact could not escape nor exclude them from constant sight. It has seemed probable to me, though I have no absolute evidence, that a considerable part of the Yokuts' occupation of thinking about ("day dreaming" about) animals, perhaps preferred ones if certain specific powers were desired, constituted as normal a mental activity as, say, reading in our own culture. In a sense, it was a pastime concerned with something not necessarily present, with standardized mental symbols and imagery but in no sense psychopathic unless (in either case) carried beyond the average behavioral norm. For Yokuts, any one who wanted to could have some minor supernatural powers, as convenient and useful; extremists became professional shamans.

There is some suggestion in my materials and experience with Yokuts and Western Mono persons, that considerable emotion and anxiety surrounded the dream-helper animal once a constant relationship had been established between tutelary and protégé. Emotional pleasure, pride, and satisfaction ("security" perhaps) in the tutelary's benevolence, and anxiety over loss of this benevolence through either offense to the animal or of loss of the power to a malicious

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195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

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NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of [182 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc- 195 esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms, ● 153] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a [114] series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

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